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Action

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FROM: PARIS

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TO: Secretary of State

Date 4-4-91

NO: POLTO 1015, FEBRUARY 5, 8 P M (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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ACTION DEPARTMENT POLTO 1015 INFORMATION LONDON POLTO 197, MOSCOW POLTO 116, BONN POLTO 189, BERLIN POLTO 98

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NAC DISCUSSION FEBRUARY 5 RE THIRD GROMYKO-THOMPSON TALKS.

AFTER I CONVEYED REPORT BASED ON TOPOL 1111, CHAIR (CASARD) SAID HE THOUGHT THERE WERE SOME NUANCES OF CHANGE IN SOVIET POSITION. GROMYKO HAD NOT REPORTED ALL OF THE OTHER CONDITIONS FOR AGREEMENT WITH REGARD TO ACCESS, SUCH AS MEASURES DENYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO GERMANS, NON-AGGRESSION PACTS, ETC. HE HAD REFERRED TO JANUARY 12. I SAID WHILE IT WAS CLEAR GROMYKO HAD NOT BROUGHT THESE MATTERS UP, IT WAS ALSO TRUE THAT THOMPSON DID MOST OF THE TALKING AND GROMYKO RESERVED HIS RIGHT TO SPEAK AGAIN.

DE STAERKE THEN INITIATED REQUEST WHICH WAS JOINED IN BY ALL OTHER MEMBERS FOR COPY OF PAPER ON ACCESS AUTHORITY THOMPSON GAVE GROMYKO. GOING FURTHER, HE PARTICULARLY REFERRED TO LEAKS IN US PAPERS TO EFFECT THAT SOVIET FREE CITY PROPOSAL NOT ACCEPTABLE TO WEST AND STRESSED NEED FOR CONSULTATION IN NAC SO THAT NAC CAN LEARN VIEWS OF FOUR ON THESE MATTERS. REGRETTED FACT DECISION TAKEN BY FOUR AND NAC ONLY TOLD OUTLINE RESULTS TALKS. FRENCH REP HELD UP THREE FINGERS INDICATING THEY WERE NOT INVOLVED THEREIN. DE STAERKE AGAIN PRESSED FOR FOUR POWER VIEWS ON SOVIET DOCUMENTS GIVEN THOMPSON AND ON PRESS STORY THAT ADMISSION FREE CITY OF BERLIN AT UN HAD BEEN REJECTED BY

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PARIS-POLTO-1015

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POSSIBLE PUBLICATION WITH IDEA OF CONVINCING NEUTRALS IT WAS REASONABLE.

FRANCE, SAYING IT WAS "OUTSIDE NEGOTIATIONS", THOUGHT THOMPSON LINE VERY REASONABLE. NOTED FINLETTER EXPLANATION THAT "RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY" MEANT CONTROL OF ACCESS. THOUGHT RUSSIANS WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE UNLESS SUBJECTS OTHER THAN ACCESS INCLUDED IN AGENDA. HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ON WESTERN PAPERS BUT AGREED WITH GREEK SUGGESTION WEST MIGHT WANT TO RELEASE US PAPERS TO PUBLIC.

HE THOUGHT SOVIET TACTICS MIGHT BE TO DELAY IN ORDER TO REINFORCE SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH, CITING RECENT NUCLEAR TESTS. FRANCE THINKS RUSSIA NOT PRESSING AS MUCH ON BERLIN AS FORMERLY, HAVING OTHER PROBLEMS FOR THE MOMENT. WESTERN BUILD-UP AND FIRMNESS HAS HAD AN EFFECT ON RUSSIANS. HOWEVER RUSSIANS CAN REVERSE THEMSELVES AGAIN AT ANY MOMENT AND WEST MUST MAINTAIN VIGILANCE AND STRENGTH.

I SAID THAT AS FAR AS I COULD SEE THERE WAS NO QUESTION BUT THAT WE EXPECT TALKS TO CONTINUE AND GROMYKO HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE FELT THE SAME WAY. I REPEATED THAT THOMPSON HAD NOT REFERRED TO THE RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS AND I DID NOT KNOW WHETHER WE WOULD REPLY TO THEM OR NOT.

CHAIR, SUPPORTED BY OTHERS, THEN PRESSED UK FOR REPORT ON PRESS STATEMENTS RE KHRUSHCHEV LETTER TO MACMILLAN. UK SAID WOULD INQUIRE.

STRONGLY SUPPORTED BY FURTHER INTERVENTIONS FROM BELGIUM AND NETHERLANDS, CHAIR PRESSED FOR REPORT AS TO HOW WEST ANALYZED PRESENT SITUATION AND SOVIET PROPOSALS AND WHAT WEST WAS PLANNING TO DO NEXT. CANADA SUGGESTED SECGEN BE INSTRUCTED TAKE THIS UP WITH AMBASSADORIAL GROUP. I SAID I WOULD REPORT REQUESTS FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, BUT POINTED OUT TO COUNCIL THAT IF OTHER MEMBERS HAD ANY COMMENTS OF INTEREST TO FOUR THEY SHOULD LET US HAVE THEM SOONEST.

COMMENT: I HOPE YOU CAN SPEEDILY PROVIDE TEXT OF IAA PAPER FOR CIRCULATION

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AND SUCH OTHER ASPECTS AS DESTRUCTION OF WALL AND ALL-BERLIN  
SOLUTION, BUT SHOULD REFUSE TO TALK ON NEW STATUS WEST BERLIN.  
IF SOVIETS REALLY WANT NEGOTIATIONS, THEY SHOULD REDUCE THEIR  
DEMANDS.

DURBROW

KEA:MGG

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FROM: PARIS

TO: Secretary of State

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ACTION DEPARTMENT POLTO 1015, INFORMATION LONDON POLTO 197,  
MOSCOW POLTO 116, BONN POLTO 189, BERLIN POLTO 98.

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CANADA SUPPORTED BELGIAN REQUESTS, SAYING IT WAS DIFFICULT  
FOR GOVERNMENTS TO COOPERATE IF THEY DID NOT KNOW WHAT WAS  
GOING ON, AND ALLIED GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE BROUGHT IN A  
LITTLE EARLIER THAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON WESTERN PROPOSALS.  
SUGGESTED WE TRY TO FIND OUT WHAT WAS MEANT BY "RESPECT  
FOR GDR SOVEREIGNTY." ASKED WHETHER NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE  
DROPPED IF RUSSIANS DON'T ASK FOR FUTURE DATE. IF SO, NAC  
SHOULD BE TOLD WHY SOVIETS LOST INTEREST. IF WE REFUSE TO  
DISCUSS SOVIET DRAFTS AND THEY REFUSE TO DISCUSS OURS, MFASSE  
WILL RESULT.

AFTER ITALY SUPPORTED BELGIUM AND CANADA, DUTCH REP ALSO  
PRESSED FOR FOUR'S VIEWS, AND THEN GAVE PRELIMINARY DUTCH  
ANALYSIS QUITE SIMILAR TO GFR ANALYSIS OF GROMYKO PAPERS.  
PROPOSALS OF WHICH DUTCH THOUGHT SO INACCEPTABLE OR VAGUE  
AS TO GIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR SOVIET CHICANERY. PARA 1 OF  
STATUTE SPOKE OF "FREE AND DEMILITARIZED CITY", WHICH  
SEEMED TO OBTAIN ANY OCCUPATION FORCES. PARA 2 BASED ON  
NON-EXISTENT CODE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. PARA 4 GAVE RUSSIANS  
OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITED WESTERN RIGHTS. PARA 5 OMITTED ANY  
QUESTION OF POLITICAL RELATIONS. AGREED WITH GERMAN COMMENT  
PARA 6 AND THOUGHT PARA 7 RE LONG-TERM ECONOMIC TIES LET  
RUSSIANS INTERVENE. PAPERS REPRESENTED NO OR VERY LITTLE CHANGE  
IN OLD POSITION AND NO ROOM FOR CONCESSION. PAPER DRAFTED FOR

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US. DE STAERKE WANTED TO KNOW WHERE THIS LEFT THE TALKS. HOW DID THE FOUR SEE MATTERS PROCEEDING NOW? I SAID FAR AS I KNEW HAD BEEN NO DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO REPLY TO GROMYKO'S TWO DOCUMENTS IN THE SECOND TALKS AND NOTED THOMPSON HAD NOT REFERRED TO THEM IN THE THIRD TALK. I SAID I WOULD ASK FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ACCESS AUTHORITY DOCUMENT FOR THE NAC. DE STAERKE PRESSED FOR GERMAN VIEWS ON TWO GROMYKO DOCUMENTS.

GFR SAID PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS, PREPARED PRIOR TO THIRD GROMYKO-THOMPSON TALKS, WAS THAT THESE DOCUMENTS REPRESENTED FIRST DETAILED STATEMENT BY SOVIETS OF THEIR CONCEPT. WHILE GENERAL LINES HAD BEEN FORESEEABLE FROM EARLIER STATEMENTS, THESE WERE DEFINITIVE. GROMYKO PROPOSALS WOULD SUPPRESS BASIC RIGHTS OF ALLIES ON WHICH WESTERN OCCUPATION BASED, REPLACING WITH NEW RIGHTS LIMITED IN TYPE AND SCOPE. REFERRING TO DRAFT STATUTE, SAID ARTICLE 4 FORESAW CONTROL AND INSPECTION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS ON COMPLETELY CHANGED BASIS. ARTICLE 5 VERY FUZZY AS ONLY STANDARD IS LOOSE ONE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. ARTICLE 7 AT FIRST GLANCE SEEMS GENEROUS, BUT COMPARED WITH SOVIET NOTES OF NOVEMBER 27, 1958 SHOWS INTENTION TO MAKE WEST BERLIN COMPLETELY DEPENDENT ON EAST AND LOSE POLITICAL FREEDOM. POSSIBILITY OF INTERVENTION RESERVED TO SOVIETS IN ARTICLES 4 AND 9. ARTICLE 6 PLACES ACCESS AS SUBJECT TO AGREEMENT WEST BERLIN AND GDR, WHICH IS TOUGHER THAN GROMYKO SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1961 POSITION, WHICH LEFT THIS IN QUESTION. ON WHOLE, GFR THINKS SOVIET DRAFT IS MAXIMUM POSITION AND SUPPORTS THEIR STANDARD FREE CITY LINE. IT COULD NOT BE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. GFR THINKS FREE CITY LINE IS MAIN SOVIET LINE, AND ALTHOUGH THEY MAY RETREAT ON OTHER POINTS, PROBABLY NOT ON THAT ONE. THOMPSON SHOULD IN FUTURE AVOID DISCUSSING THESE DRAFTS, JUST AS GROMYKO REFUSES DISCUSS ALL-BERLIN SOLUTION. HE SHOULD MAINTAIN WESTERN POSITION WHILE CONTINUING TO SOUND ON ACCESS RIGHTS

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CIRCULATION TO NAC AND CAN PROVIDE FURTHER ANALYSIS AND INDICATION OF TRENDS OF NEXT ROUND OF TALKS SOONEST. NAC PRESSURES SEEM TO ME TO REFLECT NOT DISTRUST OF US, BUT NEED OF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS TO BE ABLE KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON, WHICH COULD BE DONE IF WE PERMITTED GIVE NAC ESSENCE THOMPSON INSTRUCTIONS. IN VIEW THIS CONCERN, CASARD! ASKED ME SEND HIS COMMENTS ON MEETING TO STIKKER WHICH AM CONVEYING IN SEPARATE MESSAGE. HIS CONCLUSION "IT WAS AGREED" WOULD BE USEFUL STIKKER BRIEF HIMSELF FULLY THINKING OF FOUR IN ORDER REPORT TO COUNCIL, NOT ACCURATE. CANADA MADE SUGGESTION WHICH RECEIVED NO BACKING EXCEPT BELGIUM EXPRESSED DESIRE HAVE INDIVIDUAL ANALYSIS DEVELOPMENTS FROM OTHER MEMBERS FOUR.

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